1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

224 of wild pigs for several days, killing all those which come within their reach.

The *Aweikoma-Caingang* concentrate on hunting tapirs, which seem to be abundant in their territory. They track them with dogs or follow the deep "runs" opened by the tapirs in the bush and pursue their prey until it is forced into a stream, where they can kill it with ease. Similarly, they drive deer into streams, where they shoot or club them.

To capture birds, hunters conceal themselves in a shelter built on a tree where the birds roost, and snare them with a noose at the end of a long pole. To catch parrots, they use a tame parrot as a decoy; for pigeons, they put corn out as bait (Horta Barbosa, 1913, p. 31).

The spring-pole traps were constructed like those of the *Caingué* or of the Chaco Indians. They consisted of a flexible sapling and a noose placed near a bait (Horta Barbosa, 1913, p. 30).

224 **Hunting ritual.**—As a rule a hunter never ate the meat of the game
262 he had slain but gave it to some companion. He could not eat the
●783 flesh of a tapir he had killed before he had performed a rite in which he consumed premasticated tapir flesh and the charcoal of the burned tapir's windpipe wrapped in grass (Henry, 1941, p. 86). When the *Aweikoma-Caingang* killed a tapir they stewed "tapir grass" on it and placated its soul with friendly words lest it prevent other tapirs from being caught. Monkeys were also asked to come and share the food of the hunter. *Caingang* of São Paulo considered the jaguar and deer meat taboo (Horta Barbosa, 1913, p. 32); others refrain on some occasions from eating paca, capybara, and armadillo flesh.

226 **Fishing.**—The *Caingang*, although fond of fish, are very poor fishermen. They shoot fish with bows and arrows, impale them with two-pronged spears, or catch them by hand in the falls when shoals of fish ascend the river to spawn. They also capture them by hand in small lagoons formed by floods, which they drain (Horta Barbosa, 1913, pp. 32–33). The *Caingang* of Misiones blocked small streams with V-shaped stone dams. Against the openings they built a platform on which they placed a large mat folded and tied up at one end like a huge bag.

221 **Seasonal rhythm.**—After planting their fields, the *Caingang* of Misiones went fishing along the small tributaries of the Paraná River. Later they moved to the Sierra Central to collect pine nuts, and afterward returned to their fields for the harvest. During their wanderings they hunted and gathered fruits and larvae in the forest.

252 **Food preparation.**—The women do most of the cooking, though men generally prepare the game they kill. The *Caingang* generally roast the unskinned animal in ashes, on a spit, or on a rectangular barbacot. The earth oven serves for baking large slices of meat,

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
SM3 Caingang SM3
Aweikoma

Appendix III

Rituals

Death

765 WHEN DEATH COMES the emotional resources of the Kaingáng are mobilized to overcome the forces of destruction that have been set in motion. Death, the perpetual threat, has become momentarily actualized in the form of the *kuplêng*, the ghost-soul of the deceased, and the most elaborate ritual forms the Kaingáng possess are directed toward the elimination of this threat. Of all the survivors at a death the one who stands in greatest peril from the *kuplêng* is the spouse, the *thápfyu*. The Kaingáng feel that the spouses have had such intimate relations that there must be a complete wiping out of all the old contacts. The rites through which the *thápfyu* passes are intended, however, not only to safeguard his life, but also to protect the community. No one can be sure whom the *kuplêng* will select for its companion, but since it clings most closely to the *thápfyu* he must free himself from the *kuplêng* as soon as possible. The *thápfyu* is a threat to the members of his group—they are genuinely afraid of him—and the rites which he performs serve both to rid him of his personal fear of his dead spouse and to make him once more acceptable to his fellows. As Klendó put it, "They . . . make a festa when the husband or the wife comes back so that he [or she] can live with them."

765 Even before his spouse's bones are buried the *thápfyu* leaves camp for
783 his widower's (or widow's) isolation, his *waikfmáng*. "I did not want to see the bones," said Klendó; "so I left before she was burnt. I was afraid I would die; so I went to another place. I used to talk to her; therefore I was afraid to see her bones. I did not want to see her bones because I did not want to see her *kuplêng* while I was asleep."[1] A man leaves camp alone, [762] taking his bow and arrows, an axe and a blanket, but no pot, for *thápfyu*

[1] Up to this point all that has been said applies equally to men and women.

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
SM3 Caingang SM3
Aweikoma

765 may not eat cooked food until they have completed the ritual series. If they
● 763 did they would get hot inside and die. The *thâpfyu* must refrain from all
262 meat; all they are allowed to eat is honey and vegetable foods, and by the end of their *waikômáng* they may be very thin. If a widower encounters game he may shoot it, but he must not eat it. Instead he opens its belly and rubs the blood "all over himself to wash off[2] the hunting[3] that he used to do for his wife. This is called wiping[4] off and throwing away. He does the same with honey, bees' larvae, and bee sugar. He shoots tapir, pigs, deer, *tatetú*, monkeys, jacutingas, howler monkeys, macucas, ururús [and a number of other birds]. He shoots several and does this wiping himself off."[5] By rubbing himself with the blood of game animals the husband removes one of the principal ties with his wife, for during her life he had shot game for her. Thus the whole ritual, including the fasting, is a transparent cleansing ceremony, in which the very terminology makes the psychological point clear. The Kaingáng do not feel that the dead are impure or that they contaminate, but that the *kuplêng* follows the vestiges of its earthly life, to the peril of survivors.

765 The *thâpfyu* does not remain so far away from camp that he is completely out of contact. Under aboriginal conditions that would have put him in actual peril of his life from human enemies,[6] but always remains close enough for some woman to prepare a sleeping-place for him every night. There he sleeps alone with two stems of the *nggign* fern[7] in his arms "just as he used to hold his wife.[8] The *kuplêng* is afraid of these and goes away." Women remain nearer to camp than men, and if they have nursing infants they take them along. They do not always sleep alone, for often a woman who prepares the sleeping-place for the *thâpfyu* and sprinkles it with protective herbs wraps her in her arms all night long in a protective embrace against her husband's *kuplêng*. If there have been a number of deaths at one time, as from a raid by the *bugreiros* or by ven-

[2] *Waikuyé*, to wash oneself.

[3] *I pãy thi mã i tũ pándi yó*
his wife her for he (instrumental particle) shoot place

Literally, the place where he used to shoot for his wife.

[4] *Waiyukũ*, to wipe oneself. Without the reflexive it means "to wipe," as in cleaning the barrel of a gun.

[5] Women, since they have not the weapons with which to kill animals, simply rub themselves with honey.

[6] When the Brazilian Indian hunters, the *bugreiros*, were thought to be in the neighborhood, no one went on *waikômáng*.

[7] See p. 187 fn.

[8] Or husband.